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The Intercollegiate Socialist

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THE INTERCOLLEGIATE SOCIALIST

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Academic Freedom

Of large significance in the educational world is the appointment of committees by the American Economic Association, the American Political Science Association and the American Sociological Society for the purpose of investigating the extent to which the freedom of speech of professors in American universities, especially of those in the department of political economy, is restricted.

This action is the result of the forced resignation of Professor Willard C. Fisher, for nearly a score of years professor of political economy at Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn. Professor Fisher's resignation was called for following an address before the Get-Together Club of Hartford in which he decried the spirit of hypocrisy in the churches of to-day and expressed his personal willingness to see the churches close temporarily in order that the difference between mere church going and genuine Christianity might be forcibly drawn to the attention of large masses of the people of the country. The real reason for the requested resignation was the fact, many allege, that Professor Fisher, while not a Socialist, has long entertained progressive ideas and has actively fought against certain special privileges dear to a number of friends of the college. To have such a man at the head of the economics department especially at a time when an effort was being made to collect pledges aggregating a million dollars from conservative alumni and others, was probably somewhat embarrassing.

One of the most interesting developments in this particular case was the fact that professors of economics in many of the larger universities absolutely refused to recommend any one to Professor Fisher's place. Some time ago the writer was speaking to an economics professor who had been offered the position at a most attractive salary but who had decided that he could not "scab" on a fellow professor. The spirit of solidarity evidenced in this controversy among professors in the department of political economy has been noteworthy.

Whatever we may think of this particular instance of alleged infringement of academic freedom, we cannot be otherwise than delighted at the steps that are being taken to throw light on the subject. We trust that the members of the various committees will probe deep, and will present to the public the truth, the whole truth. The findings in case this is done will undoubtedly constitute another most instructive chapter in the economic interpretation of history.

Debates

The difficulty of inducing prominent men and women to debate against Socialism seems to be increasing rather than decreasing. Last Spring the Society endeavored to obtain Senators Borah and O'Gorman, ex-Senators Bailey and Beveridge, Congressmen Stanley and Murdoch, Martin W. Littleton, Randolph Hearst, John Purroy Mitchel, District Attorney Whitman, Theodore Roosevelt, George Record, Professor Frederick Davenport, Comptroller Prendergast, Judge Gerard, George W Perkins and others, for a Carnegie Hall debate, but without success. This season we are having equal difficulty. One of the most brilliant of the old-time political

orators of the country some months ago repeatedly challenged a prominent Socialist to debate. The Society approached him and he gladly consented to hold forth under its auspices. A couple of weeks afterwards he was again approached with a view to settle some remaining details. In the meanwhile, however, this vigorous opponent of Socialism had read with some care a couple of instalments of the debate now in progress in *Everybody's* between Dr. Ryan and Morris Hillquit. Unfortunately for the proposed debate, he became enlightened as to the real meaning of Socialism, decided that the Socialist had the better of the argument and reached the conclusion that all corporate property should be owned and controlled by the public. The difference between his view and that of the one who had consented to debate him, he declared, had become so insignificant that it would be impossible to raise an issue. Thus our hopes for a debate were again shattered.

The Society appeals to its members to assist it in finding men of intellectual calibre willing to take the anti-Socialist side in debate or in written contributions.

Our Magazine

We are pleased in this issue to present original and informative articles by three leading representatives of the Socialist movement in their respective countries—Karl Kautsky of Germany, Keir Hardie of England and Jean Longuet of France. American collegians will be especially interested in the description of the French University Socialist movement. The French groups differ from the I. S. S. by virtue of the fact that they are primarily Socialist propagandist, not study organizations. M. Longuet's comprehensive article is just now of particular interest to those observant of the effect of the influx of the so-called "intellectuals" on the American Socialist movement. All are urged to help in making our magazine a potent force in the nation's life. Members and friends can help by purchasing bundles of the magazine for distribution or sale, by obtaining subscriptions and by patronizing advertisers.

The International Congress

The idea of an International Intercollegiate Socialist Conference, to be held in Vienna or some other city of Europe next summer, about the time of the International Socialist Congress, is meeting with much favor. Already societies in four countries have signified their desire to hold such a conference. These are the Euphoristen Orden, a group in Germany, interested in the more cultural phases of Socialism, the British University Socialist Federation, the Groupe des Etudiants Socialistes Revolutionnaires in France and the I. S. S. of America. The I. S. S. at the last Convention voted the appointment of delegates to the proposed Intercollegiate Convention. A number of members have signified their intention to be present in case such a congress materializes. All members expecting to be in Europe this summer and who desire to keep informed regarding the Intercollegiate Congress, are asked to send their names to the office. The International Socialist Congress is scheduled to open August 23, 1914.

Purpose of I. S. S.

One of the most noteworthy actions of the delegates at the I. S. S. Convention was the unanimous reaffirmation of the object of the Society, that of promoting "an intelligent interest in Socialism among college men and women."

It was the sentiment of those present that the Society continue as formerly as a study organization and encourage an earnest consideration of the pros and cons of Socialism.

The Social Democracy and Germany

By Karl Kautsky

It is a rather difficult task in a brief space to comply with the Intercollegiate Socialist Society's request to give a detailed account of the accomplishments of the Socialist movement in Germany.

The concessions actually secured by the action of our party in the Reichstag, in the diets and in the municipal councils are comparatively small, as we are everywhere only a minority. Most of our accomplishments were due indirectly to the growing importance of the workingmen's vote and to the keen competition between our party and the other parties for that vote. But all concessions, achieved directly or indirectly as a result of pressure by us, are unimportant, compared with the achievements of capitalism during the same period. This cannot be otherwise so long as we are a minority in the state.

We obtain, however, a different view if we do not look at our political achievements alone; if we consider how much intellectual, moral and even physical force the working class of Germany has developed through its class struggle fought under the leadership of our party.

In the first half of the last century, the greater part of the workingmen of Germany were a set of desperate beggars, helpless and hopeless, timid and ignorant, despised or pitied by the upper classes.

To-day they are morally and intellectually its most prominent class, and even physically they are becoming superior to the peasantry, whose physical force is fast declining, inasmuch as it sells its produce instead of eating it itself.

The high goal of Socialism and the solidarity of the working class, which only Socialism can bring about, gives to the workingmen hope and confidence and growing strength. Although our political accomplishments are small, and although they would be practically useless without the aid of the Socialist party, they become steps for a higher development through the Socialist party. Our party not only is responsible directly or indirectly for those accomplishments, but teaches the workingmen to make the most of them.

So the workingmen of Germany and their party are getting stronger from day to day, and we hope soon to be able to compel the ruling classes to grant bigger concessions. In the meantime we are preparing the great future by making the most of all practical means to make the workingmen wiser, more self-confident, better nourished and housed and less exploited. Revolution and reform are for us not incompatible. We are paving the way for the revolution by reforms.

Democracy and Militarism

J. Keir Hardie, M. P.

Many and insidious are the methods by which the ruling class manages to keep the workers in subjection. For many generations ignorance, tradition and superstition were enough. The Proletariat knew nothing about their rights. They were born into a lot of poverty, subjection and toil, as their fathers before them were, and accepted it as inevitable that there should be a rich ruling class. The priest taught them that God had willed it so, and against this there was no appeal. Then came the modern industrial system which changed the conditions under which the workers earned their bread. From isolated units working as peasants in the field, or as artisans and craftsmen, at the bench, owning their own tools, they grew to be more and more massed together in factories, mines, shipyards, iron works and the like, and gradually a feeling of trade solidarity began to show itself in the form of Trade Unions. But of education or learning they, as a class, had none. (My remarks here apply principally to Europe.) Schools for the children of the poor were few, badly equipped, and costly. Books were a luxury beyond their reach and were mostly of a kind which tended still further to enslave the mind of the worker. And so he remained a poor, helpless, submissive serf, destitute alike of vision and of hope.

The past fifty years, however, have witnessed a remarkable change in the outlook of the working class. The worker has at least learned to read, though still denied education in any real sense of the word. The modern spirit of Freethought has dispersed the old-time superstitions from his brain and new ideas are freely germinating therein. He is becoming conscious of the fact that what keeps him in subjection is not some superior ability possessed by the ruling class, but the modern system of wealth production. It is becoming increasingly clear to the workers that so long as land and capital are privately owned by a master class, that fact of itself necessitates a poverty stricken dependent working class. It is the growing appreciation of this fact which explains the recent tremendous growth of the revolutionary spirit in the working class movement of the world, and the extraordinary increase in the Socialist vote. This change is not confined to any one country; it is seen everywhere. It is as evident in the Far East as it is on the continents of Europe and America. Australasia and South Africa bear it witness equally with Germany and Great Britain. There is one feature of this modern unrest which, so far as I know, is quite new. It is shared by both sexes. The women's demand for political rights is a sign of the coming of quite a new force into the world's politics, and only the future can reveal all that it may portend.

Now the ruling class of the world is awakening to a sense of the seriousness of the situation. They had grown accustomed to Trade Unionism. Experience had shown the master class, in the older European countries at least, that better wages and improved working conditions extorted from them by Trade Union action, actually benefited the employers. By means of high prices and increased production they could more than compensate themselves for high wages. A comfortable, well-fed workman, they discovered, was more profit-

able to them than a half-starved drudge. And so they had grown to tolerate the Trade Union as an evil to be endured with a cheerful spirit.

But Socialism and Labor representation are a different proposition. So long as the owners of property, or their paid hacks, are allowed to make and administer the laws, nothing can harm them. In that capacity they control, and have under their command, the armed forces of the land, the army, navy, militia and police; they have the making of the law and they appoint the judges who administer it. Property is thus monarch of all it surveys, and able to make short work, by shot and shell if need be, of those who seek to oppose its behests. But if the submerged class, the proletarians, the actual workers, if they, especially if inspired by the Socialist ideal, begin to elect from their own ranks, representatives to parliaments where laws are made, and to local bodies which administer laws, then the supremacy of property is in danger. For, *every Labor member elected displaces a member of the propertied class.* And every year sees the Socialist vote increasing, and every election sees the number of Labor members growing. As a result the propertied ruling class is becoming thoroughly alarmed. Their friends in the pulpit and in the press have served them well and faithfully by every kind of false statement about Socialists and Socialism. Political parties are excelling themselves in the production of specious "Reform" schemes for the "good of the working class"! Despite it all, the tide of Socialism keeps rising steadily, and the vision of the worker becomes more clear and his outlook more steadfast. And so in their despair the ruling class have fallen back on Militarism as their final bulwark. Not war, mark you, but Militarism. War in these modern days is a ruinous game in which victor and vanquished are equal losers. Not war, but Militarism. Big, useless, costly navies to pander to the national pride and vanity, and divert the attention of the workers away from the real enemy. Increasing armies and compulsory military service. These things foster and develop the military spirit, always the sworn foe to democracy and freedom. Militarism in its very essence is class rule. It is arrogant, harsh and lacking in the finer human qualities. It presupposes a superior officer class, and a subservient rank and file. The whole object of drill and discipline is to weaken, and if possible destroy, the will power of the soldier, to hypnotize him and make of him a mere automaton under the control of another will than his own. Every authority who has ever written on the subject makes this quite clear, and every soldier who has been in battle, or who has been called upon to fire upon a "riotous mob" — say of strikers — knows it to be true. In practically every nation in the world, Militarism is now being played off against the rising power of the working class. We see it naked and unashamed in Germany, France and other European countries. We see it in Great Britain, not only in her absurdly exaggerated navy, but also in the attempt to force conscription upon the school children and youth of the nation. Imperial agents, naval, military, diplomatic, have been sent to the overseas dominions of Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa, and have there found "Statesmen" only too ready to listen to their wiles and to join in the great conspiracy for keeping the working class in subjection. The United States of America seems no exception to the universal rule. An international ring of sordid armament and naval contractors add their fiendish influence in the same direction. It means millions a year to their profits. And thus in the year 1914 of the Christian era the nations are being converted into huge armed camps. And the fear of the growing power of organized Labor is behind it all. Let the workers

have no misunderstanding on that point. Kings, Emperors, Czars, and Presidents; Barons, Financiers, Landowners, Capitalists, see and fear the coming of the common people. And they hope to protect themselves behind a cordon of machine guns, and to create afresh the old time spirit of working class servility.

Their hope is vain. The world is on the move towards Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, and the time *geist* is the resistless power which is pressing it onward. And every additional vote cast for Socialist candidates is a proof of the awakening of the dormant inert mass which, like the Alpine glacier, will sweep from its path every form of barrier as it relentlessly pursues its way towards the all-embracing ocean.

The Socialist Movement Among the Students of French Universities

By Jean Longuet*

Socialism has never been in French universities the dominating power it has been for many years in darkest Russia, where nearly all the young intellectual fighters for political liberty are at the same time convinced adherents of the economic freedom of the masses. But France is certainly one of the countries of Europe where the "intellectuals" of the universities, and more especially of the great Paris Université, have played a great part in the Socialist movement.

Without going back to the remote times of the great Utopian Socialists, at the beginning and in the middle of the last century, when St. Simon and Fourier found their first disciples and propagandists among the students of the high Polytechnique School for artillery officers and state engineers, in Paris; nor to the end of the Second Empire, when a vague Socialistic feeling—more especially inspired by Proudhon—was mixed up with the militant republicanism of the "Quartier Latin,"** we find in 1878-1880, at the beginning of the modern Socialist movement in France, a small Socialist group among Paris University students. To that circle belong Gabriel Deville, Massard and several others who were associated with Jules Guesde when he created at that time the first Parti Ouvrier.

But we must wait till 1891-1893, when Socialism appears for the first time as an important factor of French political life, with a parliamentary force of 25 to 30 members in the Chamber of Deputies, to see the growth of a serious movement among the students of the Paris University. It was in 1891 that an organization was started which was called the "Groupe des Etudiants Socialistes Revolutionnaires Internationalistes de Paris," by a few young enthusiasts, students in the Law and Medical faculties, and also in the old

* Jean Longuet has long been active in the French Socialist movement. He was a member of the French Socialist Party Executive from 1895 to 1906, and one of the most active members of the Paris University Socialist Students' Club.

** Such was, for instance, the case of the first fighting republican paper, "La Rive Gauche," originated in 1856 in the "Quartier Latin" by my father, Charles Longuet, and later with Rochefort's "Marseillaise."

"Sorbonne" renowned for literary, historical and scientific faculties. Among those who created this first group, several have since become opponents of the party under the mask of so-called "independent Socialists"; one of them, a certain Zenais, is even now one of the most contemptible enemies of our movement, and recently published a book full of shameless insults against our much regretted Paul Lafargue. But the others have remained in the movement and are still active. This first group had a rather vague basis. French Socialism was then—as it remained till 1905—divided between five conflicting sections, and under the pretext of not taking sides with either, the group was open to all sorts of erratic people, more specially of the anarchistic tendency, who, after a certain time, obtained a strong influence over it, which led to its decadence and disappearance. Because of this influence, two years later a few members of this first group seceded and created the "Groupe des Etudiants Collectivistes de Paris," in March, 1893, that soon became, after several eclipses and a change in its title, the great center of Socialist life and activity among the students of Paris University and higher colleges. This group exists to the present day.

The "Groupe des Etudiants Collectivistes" affiliated immediately with the "Guesdist" section of French Socialism, the one which was supposed to be nearer to the teachings and methods of Marx.

From the beginning, we find French Socialist students influenced powerfully by Marxism. While of all Socialist movements on the Continent of Europe French Socialism has unfortunately been least imbued with the teachings of Karl Marx, its students' movement has been Marxian in all its sections. The "Etudiants Socialistes Revolutionnaires Internationalistes" (the first group), in its evolution towards anarchistic tendencies and toward what has been since called Syndicalism, was always anxious to show that it was developing Marx's doctrines, and the "Etudiants Collectivistes" began by a serious study of the economic and historical basis of Marxian Socialism. It has certainly been one of the things it can most proudly boast of, that all those who have been members of this club during the nineties and since have seriously learned what modern Socialism is. At the same time the "Collectivist Students" were from the beginning unsectarian, in favor of Socialist unity in this country, and were rapidly aligned on this question in opposition to the more sectarian and narrow element which constituted the Guesdist party with whom they were affiliated.

They were at the same time bitterly opposed to the "adventurers," the "politicians" (in the bad sense of the word it has in French) who come into the movement for personal profit. Young, convinced and enthusiastic Socialists, these students were annoyed to be classed with Zenais who was, by the way, one of the society's founders. So that one of the first big events in the life of the Club was the expulsion in 1894 of this man, Zenais. The latter, however, most unfortunately, remained for ten years more an active member of the Guesdist party, was elected as one of its representatives in the French Parliament in 1898, and betrayed it in 1903.

Consisting as they did of sincere and honest elements, the "Collectivist Students" made great progress. They had but from 25 to 40 members. Each new university year brought new adherents, but at the same time took away old members, who left the University to practise as lawyers, professors, physicians, or journalists. But nearly all were militant members, who took a deep interest not only in the group's life, but in the general life of

the French and the international Socialist movements.

The influence of this small group was marked. Every month they arranged large meetings, addressed by Jaures, the great French Socialist orator; Vandervelde, the renowned Belgian Socialist leader; Gabriel Deville, then with Guesde and Lafargue, the most renowned French representatives of Marxism; Enrico Ferri, the Italian leader; Rouanet, the representative of Benoit Malon's teachings; Louis de Brouckere, the Belgian; Van Koll, the Holland Socialist leader and others. These scientific lectures were held in the large hall of the Hotel des Societés Savantes, and were regularly attended by from 1,000 to 2,000. Students of the various faculties and militant members of working class Socialist clubs were also in attendance at these big meetings.

At the beginning of each year the groups which had now become the only center of Socialist life in the Latin Quarter (the honest, but Utopian little club of the "Revolutionnaires Internationalistes" having disappeared in 1892-1899), launched eloquent manifestoes in all Paris faculties and high colleges, appealing "not to the interests of the students as such, but to their brains and hearts." At the same time the students were told that "they should not expect to enter the movement as leaders, for the working class had to lead itself, but as comrades in the great world-wide movement for Socialism." During the Dreyfus Affair, when all the essential liberties of modern democracy were threatened in France by the aggression of militarism, Catholic clericalism and antisemitism, the Collectivist Students' Club made great progress. Many students of advanced views, although not conscious Socialists,. joined it, and its numbers reached from 150 to 200. This alliance was short-lived, however, and after the liberal bourgeoisie had defeated reaction with the help of the working class, it forgot entirely its proletarian allies, and in the Latin Quarter the students' movement reached its lowest level.

Meanwhile the more active members of the Club who were becoming prominent members of the Party, took an active part in the first attempt made from December, 1899, to August, 1900, to create Socialist unity in France, and began the publication, in 1899, of "The Mouvement Socialiste," a very useful fortnightly scientific Socialist review. At the same time, however, nearly all of the militant members of the group were losing contact with the Latin Quarter, and from 1905 to 1908 we find little activity in the Latin Quarter, and a sleepy little club.

In the latter year, however, a new and vigorous movement again sprang up. The members decided to give to the reorganized club the name of "Groupe des Etudiants Socialistes Revolutionnaires." This organization is at present very active, consisting of one hundred members belonging to all the big Paris colleges and faculties, the big "Ecole Normale Superienne," the "Sorbonne," the "Ecole de Droit" (law school), the "Faculté de Medecine," etc. It has also created a Socialist School.

In the provinces, several universities have had Socialist Students' Clubs. Similar clubs have existed for many years in Lyons, in Nancy, in Montpellier, where there was a strong Russian and Bulgarian contingent, as well as in Toulouse. The Socialist Students' Club in the last named city has given to the Paris Collectivist Club some of its most prominent and active members.

It must naturally be borne in mind by those organizing Socialist clubs among intellectuals in the universities that a very large percentage of the young students who come to Socialism when they are 20 years old will leave the movement later when they will

have obtained "respectable" positions in society. This is an unavoidable fact. At the same time a certain proportion will remain in the movement and play an important part in the Socialist Party which always needs "intellectuals." Our experience in France has taught us that a strong and active organization of students in the universities can bring a large number of students to Socialism, and equip them with a thorough understanding of our doctrines such as will keep them in the movement and make them most useful members of the party.

While the ordinary percentage of former students who have remained Socialists is perhaps less than 20 or 24 per cent, we can boast that 70 or 80 per cent of the former members of the Paris Collectivist Students are at present militant workers in the Party and are among those who have the best Socialist and Marxian culture.

In the French Parliament, at present, we have among our 70 members at least ten who have been members of the Club, among them Comrade Brignet, a lawyer; Aubriot, an "employé"; Barthe, a chemist; Brizon, a professor; De la Porte, a professor; Roblin, a lawyer; Lagresiliere, a lawyer; Ohivnèr, a physician.

Among the members of the Central Executive Committee of the Party, four, among them the writer of this article, are former members of the Club. In the Party's central paper, *L'Humanité,* the general manager, Landrieu, (a chemist), is a former member of the Club, as are also some of the chief contributors, among them Morizet, originator of a vigorous campaign against political "boodlers"; Uhry, a court and tribunal reporter; the present writer, a foreign editor. The general secretary of the Socialist Co-operative Federation, E. Poisson, is also one of those who have learned their Socialism in our Latin Quarter "milieu." The Paris municipal councillor, Dormoy, is still another. Among the thirty members of the Socialist Association of the Paris Bar, 18 are former members of the Club.

Naturally, at the same time, among those who are in the capitalist parties are men like Zenais, of whom I have already spoken; like M. Breton, who left the Party three years ago to become an "independent" Socialist in Parliament; like M. Emile Buié, who is now a high government official, and M. Anatole de Monzie, the "orator" in 1900 of our club, and later an under-minister for the commercial fleet in the cabinet of M. Barthou. But we must strongly insist on this point that these are exceptions, although the people who don't like Socialist intellectuals either outside or inside the Party, always speak of these few exceptions as the rule, while ignoring the fact that the overwhelming majority are loyal Socialists. At any rate, those in France connected for the last 15 or 18 years with the Socialist movement in the universities have acquired much valuable experience.

At the occasion of the Vienna International Congress next August, it would be, we think, a special advantage to hold a meeting of representatives of Socialist students and former Socialist students of all the big universities of Europe and America, and discuss these experiences for the common benefit of the whole movement. Already the British students have urged such a conference. We hope it will be realized.

NOTE.—The suggestion made in M. Longuet's concluding paragraph has already taken the form of a most promising project, which is outlined on page 4 of this number.—The Editor.

Wasting Human Life

By A. M. Simons

The material that I afterwards put into the little pamphlet with the title of this article had been gathered bit by bit for several years, but it was a chance conversation with Dr. R. T. Ely of Wisconsin, that led me finally to put it together for the printer.

On a visit to Madison, I met Dr. Ely, and he raised the objection to Socialist propaganda that it aroused false hopes in promising a competence to every person. "There are sharp limits to the powers of production," he alleged, "that would not permit any such social income as the Socialists claim."

"On the contrary," was my reply, "I do not believe that any Socialist has begun to imagine the possibilities of production even in its present stage."

He pressed his point, and I ended by agreeing to compile the wastes of the present system and demonstrate that enough is lost by mismanagement under capitalism to supply every family with a comfortable, and, measured by working-class standards, a luxurious living.

I gathered what facts I could procure with the assistance of some other Socialists, particularly Seymour Stedman, who went over my original outline and made several overlooked additions to my list, and demonstrated that avoidance of the wastes that admit of something like approximate tabulation would add a total of over $105,000,000,000 annually to the social income. Although this does not include untabulated wastes, the mere enumeration of which required several hundred words in the pamphlet referred to, yet the total is sufficient to supply every family with an income, measured in present values, of about $5,000 a year.

I sent sufficient copies of the complete work to Dr. Ely to supply his entire class, and waited for the exposure of my errors, but that exposure has never come. Every subsequent examination of those figures has convinced me that their greatest weakness lies in their utter inadequacy to tell the full story of the miserable incompetency of our present system to produce wealth. Of its failure to secure a proper distribution of that product there is now not much need of argument.

It could not be otherwise, for the whole aim of a society ruled by a profit-seeking class must necessarily be profits, and not production.

It is a commonplace to say that things are made for sale, not for use. Like most commonplaces we are too familiar with the fact to know or care much about it. We think we have told its full significance when we talk a little of adulteration and shoddy and cost of marketing. But these things are a mere introduction to the story.

Our whole system of education is directed not toward making us better producers of good things, which is, when fully understood, about the whole end of life, but towards enabling us to fulfill certain conventions of a wasteful idleness. When we pretend to educate for business we must spend most of the time in training for fighting competitors, finding markets and managing (and robbing) those who do the work. Otherwise the graduates are "impractical," unsuited for business. Ask any "business man" his opinion of even the technical graduates, and he will tell you this, only in a trifle more euphonious language—sometimes less euphonious.

Craftmanship in the real direction of

industry is as much a lost art in the great productive field to-day as it is in the fashioning of materials. But our self-sufficient rulers have not yet organized an "arts and crafts" movement that includes the planning of the "true and the beautiful" in the organization of industry.

No profits are reaped in that field of organization, and the tools are too gigantic for the dilettante to grasp. The planning of industry so that each worker may catch the whole scheme, enter into it with enthusiasm and battle for it with all its strength as he would on the football field, and that will insure to each person the certainty that the fruits of his toil and of his fellows will be his after joyous work, is something that has never entered into the dreams of those who endow schools to teach young men and women business principles.

A machine with every bearing at white heat, every wheel in a complex gearing running in an opposite direction, or trying so to run, every shaft twisted and overstrained and the motive power choked for lack of energy-giving fuel, transferred over conductors that spit fire at every turn, would not be considered an especially efficient producer. Yet is this not a picture of our present system?

It is not simply that a society whose guiding star and motive force is profits for private possessors locks up vast storehouses of natural goods and resources, thereby making them unavailable for purposes of production. It is not alone that invention, the dynamic of progress, is stifled and betrayed and turned into useless channels. Nor is it even that, when profits and not persons are made paramount, human bodies are ground into fragments, wasted with useless diseases, discarded while yet capable of the most valuable service, or even crushed, crippled and confined in childhood until the very mold of mankind is warped and deformed so that vast masses of persons are denied the opportunity to develop to anything like the full human form.

The most staggering waste comes from using all our best talents to overcome a totally useless friction. The unconscious "sabotage" of the exploited workers, who rebel against their task day by day, the measureless waste of the class struggle in all its forms, the social architecture that crowns every high point with a hideous gargoyle, deformed in the very process of clambering to the top over the bodies of his fellows,—these are the wastes that are too appalling for statistical expression, and that are scarcely intelligible to the person whose mind is buzzing round in the confines of conventional thinking.

Our educational system that, especially in its higher organs, should be feeling the way toward continuous improvement in our method of living and of satisfying our wants and of working with each other, is not simply groping in the dark. It is fleeing from the light. In every university the roads that lead toward such social experimentation as forms the only basis of progress in the physical sciences, are marked "dangerous," if not "Private Property, Trespassers will be Prosecuted."

Were these barriers down, if there were a single great institution of learning where the problems of the production and distribution of wealth, of industry and social institutions were entered upon as freely as are those of chemistry, physics, geology or astronomy, and if the sources for the diffusion of this knowledge among men were as open and uncorrupted as they are for the circulation of knowledge in these other fields, all the things that we have called problems for the last generation would be solved in a decade. We could settle the question of maintaining the animal, physiological side of ourselves, and be ready to go on to other things. We could live and proceed to what makes life worth living.

To those to whom this seems fantastic

and hard to grasp I can only say that this proves how carefully the simple things have been made complex, and how completely the light has been made darkness.

The ghastly thing about all this is that it is so wholly unnecessary. It may be that in the stage of industrial development in which they lived it was possible to secure sufficient leisure to produce a Phidias or a Socrates, only by robbing thousands of slaves of their leisure and liberty. But the rulers of the present time not only rob us of our right to life and pleasure in that life, but they waste the available force and matter and knowledge, and as a product offer us, not a Phidias or a Socrates but a Rockefeller as "the American Beauty Rose," to produce which all else must be sacrificed.

So the Socialist indicts the rulers of industry, not so much for their greed, their luxurious idleness and their brutal indifference to human suffering, as for their colossal stupidity as managers of industry.

My Point of View

By Samuel Merwin

I am asked to write an article showing why a Socialist should support the Progressive movement. I can't do it. I couldn't consistently put myself in a position where I might appear to be championing the Progressive movement in a sort of semi-opposition to Socialism. Too much of a Socialist myself for that. —It always seems to me that we halfway fellows are the sappers and miners of the whole big Socialist movement. We help to prepare the minds that are not ready to accept a complete new philosophy all at once. Also, I personally believe in the gradual, step-by-step evolution that seems now to be going on. I am not, temperamentally, a revolutionist and I feel strongly and soberly the complexity of the life which some of my Socialist friends talk a bit more readily —I almost said more glibly—about changing, than I can bring myself to talk.

My own position is that each of us contributes his best by following—as nearly as possible—his reason plus his hunch. And I like to think we are all contributing—each in his own way—to a movement so great that no one of us can be quite sure that he understands or even sees it all at any one time.

I find myself differing a good deal from the Progressive party—I am in many respects too radical for it. During the past year I have thought I saw in it a promise of very considerable service. I shall only stay with it so long as I feel that promise in it.

So, you see, I can't fight for it very desperately, except as a step toward the approaching socialization of life. If, by reaching minds that frank "Socialism" still repels, and pressing home points that are small enough to be understandable and yet are important details in the larger, blanket doctrines of "Socialism," the Progressive party can be useful, I am for it. At the present moment I am not so sure of its vitality as I was last winter, and am watching and waiting with some anxiety.

This is, of course, an inadequate statement of a point of view. No man can state his faith—even if he knows it—in a short note—or a long one. But it will perhaps disclose enough of my views to show you that I couldn't write to Socialists about the Progressive party. My appeal is primarily to those who are neither Socialists nor Progressives, but groping minds that may perhaps be brought along gradually if they are not too sharply and suddenly antagonized and set in their old tribal prejudices.

Socialism and the Wilson Regime

By C. Hanford Henderson.

Socialism is a belief so eager and practical that it is bound to seek expression in action. The proper and natural expression is through political action. We have in the ballot the machinery ready to hand, at least we men have, and I trust that the women will soon have the same opportunity. The Socialist, as opposed to the Syndicalist and Anarchist, believes that concerted political action will accomplish every social good which can be accomplished by outer agencies. This is the typical Socialist position. But the fork in the road is reached when it comes to the detail of the vote. The majority of Socialists are for the whole loaf or nothing at all. As members of the party they may vote only the straight Socialist ticket. Such a vote has, of course, a distinct moral value in recording the growing Socialist influence. But it has little immediate practical result.

My own sympathy was wholly with this exclusive attitude so long as neither of the dominant political parties offered any genuine social program. I agreed with the other members of the Socialist Party that it was better to vote for something you wanted and not get it than to vote for something you didn't want and get it! But now the conditions have suddenly and radically changed. The old parties, given the necessary rope, have hanged themselves more completely and effectually than their most hopeful enemies could easily have foreseen. In both of the large parties, the progressive element has come to the front, and is now in power. The new administration offers a social program of genuine practical merit. It proposes reforms which every Socialist has much at heart—reforms in the tariff, in the currency, in conservation, in the suffrage, in farmers' credits, in employers' liability.

In its personnel it presents greater experience and ability than could have been mustered from the ranks of the Socialists themselves. The dominant note so far is genuinely progressive. The new administration, it is true, does not propose to undertake the whole Socialist program, but bearing in mind that the Social State is being forever created, it does propose in effect to go just as far and just as fast as the country will sanction. No Socialist of the educational type would ask anything more than this.

We only want Socialism, as political action, to keep abreast of Socialism as educational propaganda.

If Socialism moved faster than this, it would meet and deserve defeat. Any premature political action could easily put back the cause for a whole generation. Distinct harm has already been worked in several American cities where a Socialist administration has been brought in through some political deadlock rather than through the will of a socially-minded electorate. In the unavoidable reaction, it is believed that Socialism has been tried and found wanting.

I disagree then with the majority of Socialists in my belief that at the present auspicious political moment every true Socialist should rally to the support of the administration, should take office under it if occasion offers, should uphold it faithfully and unremittingly in every way in his power, and should force his mind to dwell, not so much upon those more radical items in the Socialist program which our progressive friends have no idea of taking up, as upon the many wise and helpful measures which they do propose to carry through.

In one important respect both branches of the progressive party are manifestly

on the wrong track, and that is in the matter of the trusts. Socialists have always believed, and have no present occasion for changing their belief, that the sound course of industrial evolution is from competition to monopoly, and that the trust is the rational and desirable culmination of the capitalist regime. The present attack upon the trusts seems to us therefore ill advised. The sounder course would be to further combination in all the great industries, to regulate these combinations, and finally to nationalize them. But it may easily be that the present campaign against the trusts will prove more valuable in an educational way than any other action could have done. We learn to walk by falling down. The admitted failure of dissolution in the case of Standard Oil and Tobacco offers lessons of singular value. The majority of Socialists agree with Mr. Morgan, that it is impossible to unscramble scrambled eggs.

But the failure of the progressive (Democratic) party to handle the trusts scientifically does not mean that they will never do so; and certainly does not mean that they are incapacitated from carrying out the many splendid reforms which they have proposed to do themselves, and which we Socialists so ardently desire. They may not offer the whole loaf, but it seems to me that they offer considerably over half, and I, for one, am for accepting it with gratitude.

Of the two progressive parties lately in the field, the victorious party is the more acceptable to Socialists because of its nearer approach to free trade. The protectionist planks in the Chicago platform would have been a material obstacle to Socialist co-operation.

It may seem to other Socialists unduly appreciative of the Wilson administration when I record my belief that our present Socialist danger is not that the administration will not go far enough along Socialistic ends, but rather that it may go too rapidly, and by some premature social advance may lose the support of a less enlightened electorate, and so go down to defeat. This result is not inevitable. But already I detect in the newspapers and elsewhere unmistakable signs of a well-organized and powerful propaganda to discredit in every possible way both the overt acts and the inferential policy of the administration, and to appeal without inconvenient regard for facts, to the prejudice and hunger-fear of the multitude in order to pave the way for political change.

The failure of the Wilson administration would, in my opinion, be a distinct set-back to the Socialist cause, and would mean the re-establishment, in part, of the powers of privilege.

The real struggle is between Mr. Wilson and Mr. Roosevelt. And the struggle is already on. We Socialists might well leave this political verdict to the fates, if we could believe that it depended honestly upon events, but we know perfectly well, or ought to know, that the success of the administration depends not only upon what Mr. Wilson does, but still more upon the reasonable interpretation which the public put upon what he does. It has happened before to-day that a superior leader has been replaced by an inferior one. I should regard Mr. Roosevelt as distinctly the inferior leader. He has not only demonstrated that his personal hold upon right reason and constructive statesmanship is far less secure than Mr. Wilson's hold, but his election could only be brought about by the coalition of his progressive, protectionist friends with that objectionable element in the old Republican Party which is congenitally and hopelessly averse to equal justice and the oncoming of the Social State.

If all Socialists, within the Party and without, would unite in a definite policy of support, we might easily become a determining factor in national politics, and happy participators in a large social achievement.

REVIEW OF VITAL BOOKS

SOCIAL INSURANCE, with Special Reference to American Conditions. By Dr. I. M. Rubinow. N. Y.: Henry Holt & Co. $3.00 net, pp. 525.

This volume by Dr. Rubinow is a valuable addition to the literature of the present progressive movement, using the word "progressive" with a small "p." There is one thing that stands out above all others to the reader of this book—that the tendency of the countries of the world is toward the passing of laws that will establish this form of insurance, and that this tendency is growing, rather than diminishing.

The material that goes into this very considerable book saw the light first as lectures before classes in the New York School of Philanthropy, of Columbia University. This is tantamount to saying that there is an almost machine-like system running through the work. One can almost hear the lecturer saying "Next, ladies and gentlemen, we will deal with the defects of employers' liability." There is therefore here found a definite arrangement of the material that is most welcome. We are never at a loss to know what is being discussed.

After a preliminary discussion of "the concept of social insurance," Dr. Rubinow takes us through Europe and tells the story of the growth of the idea from the time that the Iron Chancellor of Germany was first proposing insuring the workers by the state, both as a political measure, and in order to render the "bird call" of the Social Democrats vain. The mere recital is impressive enough. Modern industry has made the individual worker the victim of circumstances. He cannot take care of himself in extraordinary circumstances, such as sickness, accident and sudden death to the wage earners of the family. Hence, the state has been induced to take over, in greater and greater measure, the function of rendering red-cross service. The countries of the world have lined up as follows:

1884, Germany; 1887, Austria; 1891, Hungary; 1894, Norway; 1895, Finland; 1897, Great Britain; 1898, Denmark; 1898, Italy; 1898, France; 1898, Spain; 1900, New Zealand; 1900, South Australia; 1901, Netherlands; 1901, Greece; 1901, Sweden; 1902, West Australia; 1902, Luxemburg; 1902, British Columbia; 1903, Russia; 1903, Belgium; 1905, Cape of Good Hope; 1905, Queensland; 1906, Nuevo Leon (Mexico); 1907, Transvaal; 1908, Alberta; 1908, Bulgaria; 1908, Newfoundland; 1908, United States—for Federal employees only; 1909, Quebec; 1910, Servia; 1910, Nova Scotia; 1910, Manitoba; 1911, Switzerland; 1911, Peru; 1912, Rumania; 1911-1913—About twenty-five states in the American Union.

This list means that there is a movement that is as wide as the world for this thing that was unheard of in America not long ago. It is in itself an argument for at least a study of the question.

In a chapter entitled "The Need of Social Insurance in the United States," our author analyzes the economic situation of the country in a masterly manner that leaves no room for doubt that the American worker is a real proletarian, that he is unable to take care of himself in case of sickness, not on account of his own carelessness or shiftlessness, but simply because the present industrial system does not pay the worker enough to live decently, to rear and educate his family, and to lay up for the proverbial and overworked rainy day.

There are four exigencies that are insured against, disease, including maternity, accident, old age and unemployment. The "ordinary insurance, that which most of us are paying for now, has not been touched by the state to any great extent. In a series of startling chapters, Dr. Rubinow shows the dangers to the working class from each of these four agencies. The matter of accidents, for instance. They are not

accidents, but the normal incidents of our present industrial life. The figures that indicate there is each year a certain, definite number of casualties and that these accidents vary according to a definite law of variation, will come as a peculiar shock to the ordinary reader, who probably thinks that accidents are due to the carelessness of the workers, or to some extraordinary causes.

The old "employers' liability" will not solve the problem. Figures are given to show that the vast number of cases are uncompensated under liability. Now, under the new development, the legal tort is gracefully yielding to the new conception, the economic need of the worker.

The author develops each point with almost painful conscientiousness. There is not an aspect that he does not take the greatest care to prove with the latest and the most reliable statistics. For this reason, the work is a veritable storehouse of information about the condition of the United States to-day, and for that reason, if for no other, it deserves careful attention.

Dr. Rubinow is one of the authorities on the subject of insurance in the United States. He was for several years a statistical expert in the United States Bureau of Labor, and there he compiled several works on social insurance in the various countries of Europe. It is of the greatest importance that the first comprehensive work on this subject should be written from this standpoint, that of the inability of the worker, under present industrial conditions, to take care of himself and his family, and through no fault of his own. Writers who follow will have to recognize that position, and take up the subject from the same angle.

In conclusion, it is a pleasure to state that Dr. Rubinow is a member of the Executive Committee of the I. S. S.

WILLIAM MORRIS FEIGENBAUM.

BOYCOTTS AND THE LABOR STRUGGLE; Economic and Legal Aspects. By Harry W. Laidler, with an Introduction by Henry R. Seager, Ph.D., Professor of Political Economy, Columbia University. John Lane Company, N. Y. $2 net. Postage, 15c.

"Approaching the problem without prejudice or preconception," says Professor Henry R. Seager in his introduction to this excellent and timely book, Mr. Laidler "presents to the reader, through a clear summary of important cases, the judicial reasoning that has led some of our courts to condemn the boycott; others to uphold its legality," and has shown "the probable consequences if wage-earners be permanently deprived of the right to boycott and the safeguards, in the self-interest of the workers themselves, in public opinion and in the defensive measures which employers and dealers may adopt, if this right be freely conceded." "The prevailing view that strikes for any purpose are legal," says Professor Seager, "grows out of the principle that, in a free country, the wage earner must be free to work, or not to work, for whom he will," but he adds that "the right of workers to refuse to buy commodities of dealers whose policies they disapprove has not yet been given the same wide extension."

Mr. Laidler has evidently approached the problem of the boycott, not only without prejudice, but with the careful thoroughness of the scholar, and has produced so complete and well rounded a treatise that even the Federal Commission on Industrial Relations, as Professor Seager points out, which directed itself to investigate all "the causes of industrial unrest," will find here "all of the facts and arguments on which its conclusions with reference to the boycott must be based."

The book is divided into three parts, first "Economic Aspects of Boycotts," second "Legal Aspects of Boycotts," and third "Boycotts in the Light of Social and Economic Conditions." An extensive appendix contains a summary

and digest of decisions in boycott and allied cases, a table of cases, and a bibliography. There is also an index, an invaluable adjunct to any book of this character.

The first part contains a history, not only of the word "boycott," but of the use of boycotts in the United States, from the Boston Tea Party to the last event but one in the Danbury Hatters' Case. It tells once more the thrilling story of the American Labor Union's boycott of Pullman cars in 1894. It recounts the steps by which the Buck's Stove and Range case—originally growing out of the bitter opposition of Van Cleave, president of the National Association of Manufacturers, to allowing his stove polishers to breathe death-dealing dusts only nine, instead of ten hours a day—has degenerated into the effort of a court to maintain its reputed dignity. It then gives the history of the Danbury hatters' boycott and the trials under the Sherman Anti-Trust Law which have resulted. Finally, this first part ends with a resumé of the factors upon which depends the success of boycotts. The author concludes that since the rise of the Knights of Labor, which used this weapon so extensively, the boycott "has played a no mean rôle in the labor movement, frequently proving most effective in obtaining more wholesome labor conditions."

The second part summarizes the laws relating to boycotts, the judicial reasons given for their illegality and for their legality, their legal status abroad, the efforts in Congress and in state legislatures to legalize boycotts, and the tendencies existing to-day toward legalization. Mr. Laidler maintains that logically the same evolution which has taken place in the legal status of strikes must take place in the legal status of boycotts, —that there is no justification, either in law or economics, for the distinction which the courts have generally drawn between the right to strike and the right to boycott.

Under "Boycotts in the Light of Social and Economic Conditions," the third part of his book, Mr. Laidler discusses the reasons for and against legalizing the boycott, the possible recourse of labor if permanently deprived of its use—including its secret practice, the union label, political action, sabotage and the I. W. W. tactics—and the probable outcome if the boycott is legalized. In conclusion he declares himself unreservedly in favor of legalizing all forms of the boycott, except the threat of actual violence, on the ground that it strengthens the hands of labor, and thus indirectly advances social welfare, that it is a necessary weapon to oppose to "the weapons which are constantly being brought into play against the laborer in his struggles," that some of the substitutes which may be resorted to if the boycott is not available may constitute in themselves more serious evils, that there is decreasing likelihood of any great abuse in its employment, and that a greater number of peaceful settlements of labor disputes would probably result from its potential use.

The entire book, indeed, is a cool, rational, but none the less powerful argument in favor of removing the legal disabilities of the boycott and placing it upon the same footing as the strike as a weapon in industrial warfare. Incidentally many interesting side lights are thrown upon other related questions, particularly upon the use of injunctions in labor disputes. One cannot help but hope that this volume may set a standard, not only of thoroughness and reasonableness, but also of *readableness,* and may be followed by other volumes of like general character, upon some of these related questions. There is a place for various methods of approach to any question, but if a reform needs back of it a considerable body of public opinion, and not merely the aroused enthusiasm of the persons directly concerned, a clear, unimpassioned argument always has the advantage that it stands a chance of be-

ing read and considered by the not yet converted.

Finally, I should like to commend this book, as does Professor Seager in his introduction, to the members and experts of the Federal Commission on Industrial Relations, "to members of Congress, and legislators generally, to lawyers, to judges and to students and teachers of economics, as well as to labor leaders and employers of labor." As Professor Seager says, "if, as a result of its perusal, light be thrown upon a difficult problem and the way prepared for making the law at once more rational and more uniform in a field where it is now illogical and conflicting, the purpose of the author will be attained."

HELEN L. SUMNER, PH.D.

HENRY DEMAREST LLOYD, 1847-1903. A Biography by Caro Lloyd, with an Introduction by Charles Edward Russell. Two volumes, illustrated. Putnams, 1912. Pp. 308-390.

No student of American life can afford to ignore these two volumes, for they contain a record and an interpretation, not to be found elsewhere, of the development of the political and industrial life of the United States from the middle of the Nineteenth Century to the death of Henry Demarest Lloyd in September, 1903.

A man of leisure and culture, an aristocrat by nature and a democrat by education, by inherited tradition, in principle and in the glowing passionate sympathy of his whole life, Mr. Lloyd's work was a precious contribution to industrial and political democracy.

"Wealth Against Commonwealth," his best known work, published in 1894, began the campaign (in the midst of which we are still living) against piracy in our greatest industries.

For several years, beginning in 1882, as editorial writer on the *Chicago Tribune,* he had been studying the trusts in their early growth. But even before that he sounded a clarion note in the *Atlantic Monthly* for March, 1881, under the title "The Story of a Great Monopoly." Seven editions of the *Monthly* were exhausted before the demand for the article ceased. In 1884 came another *Atlantic* article, "The Lords of Industry," which gave its title to one of the volumes published after the author's death. In September, 1888, appeared the *North American Review* article, "The New Conscience," later embodied as a chapter in the volume entitled "Man, the Social Creator," which also was published after Mr. Lloyd's death. In 1890 he issued his first volume, a monograph, telling the story of the Spring Valley strike as "A Strike of Millionaires Against Miners." Then came "Wealth Against Commonwealth" in 1894, "Labor Copartnership" in 1898, and in 1900 two volumes, "A Country Without Strikes" and "Newest England."

Five posthumous volumes have been published, "Man, the Social Creator," "A Sovereign People" (A Story of Swiss Democracy), "Men the Workers," "Mazzini" and other essays, and finally in 1910, the closing volumes, "Lords of Industry."

To Mr. Lloyd's painstaking study of industrial experiments in process in widely diverse parts of the world, he added beauty and nobility of presentation of the results of his observations, that art so sadly rare among American writers on social subjects. To the charm of his early writing, the struggle for the initiative and referendum, and for public ownership, owes much of the acceleration that we now see. For people read his work with pleasure.

As the financial editor of the *Chicago Tribune* for several years, Mr. Lloyd acquired an intimate acquaintance, which he cultivated ever after, with the financial development of the country, in the last third of the Nineteenth Century.

In the end, he gave his life a sacrifice in the battle for municipal ownership of the surface railways in Chicago, dying,

at the age of 56 years, of overwork and strain in the municipal campaign of 1903.

The biography is written with a competence most unusual. Caro Lloyd shared her brother's interest and understood his aims in a degree rare among biographers. She interprets truthfully his work in behalf of the miners at Spring Valley, Illinois, and in the Anthracite coal strike in Pennsylvania, and his unwearied efforts to prevent the tragic miscarriage of justice that blots the history of Illinois with the execution of the Chicago anarchists in 1887. Her writing shares in large measure the lucidity, vividness and sustained interest of his own. This biography is undoubtedly destined to hold a permanent place among the substantial contributions to American history.

FLORENCE KELLEY.

THE USE OF LEISURE. By Temple Scott. (The Art of Life Series.) New York: B. W. Huebsch. Postpaid 55 cents.

A little book that like a little window looks out over far horizons. In its three divisions, "Wanted—Leisure," "The Right Use of Leisure," and "Work, the Creator," it makes the same plea as William Morris—the release of the soul of man from unceasing drudgery, so that refreshed and recreated he may run with glad feet to joyous work. Like Morris, the author demands this for all workers, unskilled and skilled, for "the least among us." Yet he appears as "one who loves the people, but can not yet trust the people." He believes that we must first make possible a leisured workingman, who when regenerated will reconstruct our social system. To those struggling to-day on the industrial battlefield for bare material necessities, this plea for leisure as a solution may seem to resemble the famous advice to the breadless to eat cake. But the book disarms criticism by frankly refusing to enter the field of economic science. It amply fulfills its proper mission, and expresses the ideals of the new democracy with an eloquence and fervor which at times reaches a high level of poetic intuition.

CARO LLOYD.

SYLVIA, A Novel. By Upton Sinclair. John C. Winston Co., Phila. and N. Y. $1.20.

THE SPIDER'S WEB. By Reginald Wright Kauffman. N. Y.: Moffat, Yard and Co. $1.35.

PEACH BLOOM. An original play in four acts. By Northrop Morse. Published by The Sociological Fund, Medical Review of Reviews, N. Y. $1.00.

Lines of resemblance and contrast link these books. Each is the story of a clear-visioned soul which swings itself free from the falsities of our present society only to lose its life in the struggle.

Sylvia is a joyous creature of irridescent beauty, the belle of Castleman County, a flower blooming in the garden of the old Southern aristocracy. Her nature seems to spring fresh and untrammeled from the very fountainhead of righteousness. But she is a real heroine, not an unreal one. Beset at every turn by the narrowness and prejudice of her social set, she becomes a rebel, now against the religious creed, now against the fetich of Family Pride. Accidentally she meets a youth who fortunately has been obliged to live as a social outcast. Very beautiful is the instant recognition of love between them. All the arrows of Caste are now leveled at Sylvia, as the Family rise up in horror at her acceptance of this suitor. "Sylvia loves."

Visiting Harvard, she again encounters Caste in the person of van Tuiver, New York multimillionaire. Neither his money, nor his regal position captivate Sylvia, whose innate democracy is developing. She promptly tells him how and why she loathes him. This lends her an irresistible charm and he determines to win her.

He had always gotten what he wanted. "Sylvia lingers."

Dire fates now draw her into their net. Her lover is ruined by an unjust scandal, her family face financial disaster. Broken-hearted and baffled, she finally succumbs, and to save her family promises herself to the ignoble van Tuiver. Her friend, Harriet, recently married to a highly respectable man, now calls upon her and reveals herself a physical wreck from venereal disease. This startles Sylvia into a realization of her own possible danger, and with that independent judgment characteristic of her, she demands that her uncle find the truth concerning her intended husband. Veiled and formal query and reassuring response follow, and Sylvia trusting in these goes forward with her promise, sacrifices herself and her offspring to a roué. "Sylvia loses."

On these general conventional lines, the author runs an interesting narrative, picturesquely set, skilfully sustained. Most noteworthy is the delicate comprehension of womanhood in the characterization of Sylvia, excepting only instances where her game of coquetry seems overdrawn. The message of the story—the vice danger which threatens young girls, seems to be too incidentally treated.

"The Spider's Web" pictures the "System." It is the story of Luke Huber who comes to New York full of youthful zeal for civic betterment, and who at every turn is caught in the web. The spider is the great financier, The Man, who in his twentieth-story Wall Street office, sits spinning, spinning the web. "From that height the streets of the city seemed to be threads leading in every direction. . . . On the threads black dots that were hurrying men and women seemed to quiver like entangled flies." Huber enters the District Attorney's office where certain letters incriminating The Man come into his hands. He calls at the twentieth-story office and threatens to publish them unless certain public safety measures are adopted. Experience had now shown him all the avenues of the people's life ensnared in the web and their spiritual and material well-being imperilled. The Power which had done this was The Man spinning.

Huber enters the Reform League and becomes "a torch-bearing evangel" as he defies the Power. From that time, his crusade becomes a battle. Burglary, prostitution, fraud are summoned to get the letters. His little fortune is endangered. More than all, the Reform League is found to be itself corrupt. Then The Man dies, yet the web is intact and Huber then sees that not one man but the System is the trouble. He then becomes "converted" not into, but out of the church, "finds himself" through "a rejection of faith." Following a strike riot, he experiences another conversion when he sees that the cause of the workers is just. Likewise after a scene with his fiancée which, it must be confessed, is brutal, inconsistent, abnormal, and revolting, he denies his love for her. Thus he denies all. Only one course opens; he resolves to join the oppressed. Just at the hour, the Power, still seeking the letters, overtakes him and he is shot, hurling curses, as he dies, at all our institutions.

Huber's gospel, we are told, is "a gospel of negation." Can there be any such gospel? Nature abhors a vacuum, and affirmation is almost simultaneous with negation. Sylvia's affirmation, the vision in her sacrifice, was her love for her family; Huber's was his espousal of the oppressed, but this point does not seem sufficiently emphasized. There is a psychological basis in the universal demand for "happy endings," a craving that if all else goes down in defeat, the spirit at least is victor.

Peach Bloom touches upon another phase of that social evil which ruined Sylvia. It is dedicated to "the un-

numbered thousands of girls who have suffered through ignorance," and it comes with a mission—to arouse all earnest people to the perils of that ignorance. It is a play to be taken up reverently, as if it were a sermon of the new religious enthusiasm for human betterment, and to be closed with a resolve to do whatever we can to help end such evils. Its story tells of an exquisite young girl, who had been kept in ignorance "to preserve the peach bloom," and who helping a stranger, an elderly lady, one day is trapped into "Madame's" establishment. The drama pictures the horror of white slavery in full detail so that its thrilling message is not weakened; yet its tone is such that it could well be handed to a group of girls or performed before serious men and women. Life Kauffman's "Spider's Web," it presents to us, though in less melodramatic form, a whole network of terrifying pictures, which we would gladly reject as fiction. But unhappily that is impossible, since in both cases there are undeniable facts as strange as this fiction. "Peach Bloom" is pronounced by an expert to be "an accurate picture of conditions." Our only escape is in courageously facing the problems, and to that end the pens of these earnest fiction writers are leading the way.

CARO LLOYD.

WOMEN AS WORLD BUILDERS: Studies in Modern Feminism. By Floyd Dell. Chicago: Forbes and Co. 1913. $.50.

Under this magniloquent title is cloaked a little hundred-page volume of sketches on such portentous subjects as the feminist movement, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Olive Schreiner, Ellen Key et aliae.

"The feminist movement," says the author, "can be dealt with in two ways: it can be treated as a sociological abstraction, and discussed at length in heavy monographs; or it can be taken as the sum of the action of a lot of women, and taken account of in the lives of individual women. The latter way would be called 'journalistic' had not the late William James used it (*sic*) in his 'Varieties of Religious Experience.'"

This paragraph well illustrates the point of view, the style and incidentally the grammar of Mr. Dell. Ourselves we confess to a weakness for the heavy monograph as the type of literature of which the feminist movement stands most in need to-day. Certainly the "journalistic" method, as Mr. Dell uses it, has little to contribute. His series of slight, almost puerile essays leaves us much where we were at the start. And our limitations are by no means due to the restriction of space. A hundred pages of mature wisdom, close thinking and delicate observation on the woman question would be well worth writing—and reading.

The idea of the book is excellent—a survey of the life and work of the foremost women of to-day, those who are doing their part of the world's work, and those who are striving to make it possible that the woman of the future should do a still greater part of the world's work. Indeed it is the very excellence of the idea and the title that causes us to resent the inadequacy of the treatment. If such a book is worth writing at all, it is worth writing well and thoroughly. The chapters on Ellen Key and Dora Marsden are the clearest and show capacity for sympathetic insight. But what has been the standard of selection? Why Margaret Dreier Robbins and not Mary McArthur or Clara Zetkin or Rosa Luxemburg? Where is Lily Braun? And if Isadora Duncan why not Ida Rubinstein or Pavlowa? We like the idea of sedate Miss Addams passing into literary history yoked to the impulsive Pankhurst, and the spectacle of Beatrice Webb and Emma Goldman straining in the double harness of Chapter V is provoking.

The sketch of Mrs. Webb shows Mr. Dell at his worst. We wish that Mr. Dell, like the Mrs. Webb he describes,

had been "captured permanently by the magic of facts," as for instance when the tells us that Booth's "Life and Labour of the People" investigations, "which in my amateur ignorance I always confused with those of General Booth of the Salvation Army," was published in four volumes; or when he confides to other ignorant amateurs: "'Statistics' does not mean a long list of figures . . . Statistics may be called the dogma that knowledge is dynamic. . . . The Fabian Society was founded on the dogma of statistics as on a rock." And he disposes of his subject, "Beatrice Webb has compiled statistics."

Mr. Dell tells us that he has hearkened to the voice of modern science—and "even more eagerly" to the voice of sociology. We regret that he did not prolong his tête-à-tête with these respectabilities. They might finally have furnished him with some guiding principles with which to find his way among many other siren voices—the intoxicating voice of Walt Whitman, the voice of H. G. Wells, whose range is that of life itself, the voices of the ladies above referred to, who is singing each her own tune in her own particular soprano. For among them Mr. Dell wanders as distracted as Parsifal in the enchanted garden.

Juliet Stuart Poynty.

I. S. S. Convention

The Fifth Annual Convention of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, held in New York City December 29th, 30th and 31st, was a most stimulating and worth-while gathering. Noteworthy among the sessions was the Convention dinner, held Tuesday evening, December 30th, which was attended by over 500 collegians and others, including graduates and undergraduates from more than ninety colleges.

A proposal for an international intercollegiate conference in Europe this summer and a unanimous reaffirmation of the object of the Society were, perhaps, the most important of the Convention's actions.

In favoring the holding of a conference of students representing the various countries of Europe and America, the delegates at the Convention passed the following resolutions:

"Resolved, that it is the sense of the Convention that the Intercollegiate Socialist Society of America co-operate with foreign university Socialist societies in forming an International Conference, to be held during the summer of 1914."

"Resolved, that in the event of an International Intercollegiate Socialist Conference being held during the coming year, the Executive Committee of the I. S. S. be authorized to appoint delegates to represent this country at such Conference; provided that no expense be incurred to the Society thereby, and further provided that such appointment in no way commit the Society to the support of any measure proposed or indorsed at such Conference, unless such measures are subsequently ratified by referendum vote of this Society; and further, that Dr. Herbert Kuehnert be invited to propose such an International Conference to student bodies in Europe in the name of this Society."

The delegates also reaffirmed the purpose of the Society—"to promote an intelligent interest in Socialism among college men and women," and emphasized the fact that the study of Socialism and not political propaganda, was the prime object of the Society. At the same time they placed themselves on record in favor of allowing the individual Chapters autonomy in the conduct of their own affairs.

The convention proper was called to order Monday afternoon, December 29th, at Miss Stokes' studio, 90 Grove Street. Mary R. Sanford, chairman of the Convention Committee, opened the convention. J. G. Phelps Stokes, the president of the I. S. S., acted as chairman. Delegates were present at this or other sessions from the undergraduate Chapters at Barnard, C. C. N. Y., Columbia, Cooper Union, Cornell, George Washington, Harvard, Amer. International College, International Y. M. C. A. College, New York Dental Colleges, New York University, Princeton, Radcliffe, Williams, Wisconsin and Yale and from the Alumni Chapters at Boston, Los Angeles, New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Springfield, Staten Island and St. Louis. There were also fraternal delegates from Amherst, Brooklyn Training School, General Theological Seminary, Howard University, Long Island Medical, Missouri, N. Y. Medical, N. Y. Normal, Smith, Wellesley and other institutions.

After the roll call and the appointment of

Walter M. Hinkle, Williams, 1914, as secretary of the convention, Harry W. Laidler, organizing secretary of the Society, read a report of the year's work. He said in part: "The Society, during the year, organized 15 Chapters for the study of Socialism, and has now over 60 undergraduate and 14 graduate Chapters. Six Chapters were formed in the Middle West at the Universities of Cincinnati, Montana, Western Reserve, Denison, Hiram and Morningside; four in New England, at Radcliffe, Mass. Institute of Technology, Simmons and the American International College; two in the Middle Atlantic States, at Adelphi and Cooper Union; two on the Pacific Coast, at Oregon Agricultural and Fresno Junior, and one in the South, at North Carolina University. A number of Chapters were dropped because of the graduation of their most active members. There are at present 22 Chapters in the Middle West, 15 in the Middle Atlantic States, 14 in New England and several on the Pacific Coast, in the South and in Canada. New York State boasts of the largest number, eleven; Massachusetts, the next largest, ten; and Ohio, the third largest, eight. Among the strongest Chapters are those at Yale, Harvard, Michigan, Radcliffe, Simmons, Illinois and Columbia. The total number of members in undergraduate groups approximates 1,000, of which half are non-Socialists.

"Perhaps the most hopeful feature of the year was the publication of the Society's Quarterly, *The Intercollegiate Socialist,* which has already secured contributions from men and women of international repute, interested in the Socialist movement. Among the contributors are: Prof. Charles A. Beard, Victor Berger, Howard Brubaker, Arthur Bullard, Prof. Ellen Hayes, C. Hanford Henderson, Jessie Wallace Hughan, Ellis O. Jones, Mrs. Florence Kelley, Algernon Lee, Caro Lloyd, F. F. Rockwell, I. M. Rubinow, Vida D. Scudder, H. D. Sedgwick, Upton Sinclair, Helen L. Sumner, Carl D. Thompson, Charles Zueblin, William English Walling, Sidney and Beatrice Webb and others.

"The magazine bids fair to be a potent factor in the intellectual life of college men and women. The chief difficulty thus far encountered is that of obtaining scholarly anti-Socialist articles.

"Another important development of the past year has been the touring of volunteer speakers. Among those making college trips were: Mrs. Rose Pastor Stokes, Victor L. Berger, J. G. Phelps Stokes, Mary R. Sanford, Helen Phelps Stokes, Bouck White, Wm. English Walling, John C. Kennedy, Harry W. Laidler and others.

"The beginnings of Sectional Committees to co-operate with the general society in organizing and strengthening college and alumni groups has been another of the year's features.

"Among the needs cited by undergraduates were a more vital interest in public affairs on the part of the collegian, time and place for meetings, and a spare hour—the latter need being voiced by a student from M. I. T.

"Among the most successful Chapters are those which emphasize the study character of the I. S. S., and which endeavor to secure both Socialist and non-Socialist speakers. Debates on Socialism, such as were planned at Yale during the last year, are especially valuable. Over 500 were present at each of the two debates scheduled.

"Members of the Chapters are also urged to follow a regular study course on Socialism and continually to apply the principles of the philosophy to modern every-day life."

That students who join the Socialist movement should ally themselves with it rather through an impelling motive of passionate interest and love for the cause than through a mere sense of duty, was the belief of Walter Lippmann, Harvard 1910, who spoke on "Obligations of I. S. S. Members After Graduation." He declared that students who had become convinced of the truth of Socialism should strive against dogmatism, and should assist in adjusting the Socialist philosophy to the ever-changing economic and political life of America. Alexander Trachtenberg, secretary of the Yale Chapter, gave an inspiring description of the work of the Society for the Study of Socialism at Yale University and declared that this Chapter was, in his opinion, assisting materially in the development of the social responsibility and the critical mental faculties of the students. He urged that the I. S. S. remain true to its purpose—that of furnishing a medium through which the Socialist movement and philosophy might be studied thoroughly and impartially.

Leroy Scott, secretary of the Society, prophesied a great future for the Society's quarterly magazine, and urged the co-operation of all members and friends in bringing the magazine before members of faculties, alumni and undergraduates. They could assist by obtaining subscribers, selling the magazine at their meetings, patronizing advertisers, distributing magazines to their friends, etc.

Relative to an International Conference, Wm. English Walling and Dr. Herbert Kuehnert, a graduate of the University of Munich, described the character of the student movement abroad, and expressed as their opinion that groups for the study of Socialism already in existence in Great Britain, France, Germany and Austria would be glad to co-operate in arranging such a Congress. Dr. Kuehnert told in detail of the Euphoristen Orden in Germany, which consists of several hundred

educated men and women who are primarily interested in the cultural side of the Socialist movement and philosophy. He extended greetings to the American Society from the German group, and expressed the hope of future co-operation. Dr. Kuehnert also described the Freie Studenten movement, a liberal student group of Germany which was alive to many of the big problems of the day. The discussion relative to an International Conference led later to the passage of the resolution already referrred to.

Anne Page, Radcliffe 1914, was the next speaker. She dwelt on methods of organizing Study Chapters and urged all intending to form Chapters to obtain the active co-operation of the most influential of the intellectual leaders of the student body. Alfred Jaretzky, Harvard 1913, in dealing with the relation of the I. S. S. to the Chapters, urged that each group be given autonomy in the conduct of Chapter affairs. Methods which may work most successfully in one student group, he declared, may be entirely unsuccessful elsewhere.

A most interesting feature of the Convention was the reception given on Monday evening to the delegates by the N. Y. Alumni Chapter at The Finch School, 61 East 77th St. Short pithy talks were here delivered by several members of the Executive Committee and by Graham Wallas, one of the original Fabian essayists and prominent in British municipal and national life. Miss Sanford, the first speaker, dwelt on the function that Christianity had performed in Society and urged that the students take as scientific and sympathetic an attitude toward religion as Socialists desire others to adopt toward the Socialist movement. Upton Sinclair emphasized some of the interesting phases of the Syndicalist movement. Caro Lloyd spoke on the relation of monopoly to education. Jessie W. Hughan urged that students beware of giving too much attention to side issues in the Socialist movement and that they concentrate their attention on fundamental principles. Dr. I. M. Rubinow indicated some of the reasons why, in his opinion, students should join the Socialist Party. Wm. English Walling told something of the significance of the Progressive movement. Helen Phelps Stokes urged all Chapters to welcome non-Socialists and anti-Socialists in their membership. J. G. Phelps Stokes warned students to take proposed progressive reforms with a grain of salt. Graham Wallas gave some delightful reminiscences regarding the days of William Morris and other historical personages in England, and touched on the infinite complexity of social movements. Prof. Ellen Hayes also said a few words. Harry W. Laidler presided.

The discussion of Chapter problems was continued at the Tuesday morning session. It was at this session that those present voted in favor of the continuance of the organization as a study Society and gave their assent to an International Conference. S. Sholes, Columbia, 1913, in his talk on "Methods of Reaching the Student Body," impressed on I. S. S. members the importance of taking a prominent part in the discussion of practical problems, and urged that experts on certain immediate reforms be secured for public meetings to tell the relation of these measures to the ultimate Socialist program. He believed that study meetings, on the other hand, should be confined more to the consideration of the philosophic basis of Socialism.

In dealing with Chapter magazines, Wm. Mendelson of the New York Dental Chapter advised the members to "boost" *The Intercollegiate Socialist*. He stated that his Chapter had found that the distribution of this magazine had materially assisted in turning favorable attention to the Society. Walter M. Hinkle, Williams, 1914, in dealing with the question of study meetings, urged fewer and more carefully arranged study meetings. He stated that good results had been obtained at Williams by assigning students to different sides of each subject. The greatest needs of the Chapter was the inclusion in their membership of anti-Socialists and that of keeping discussions to the topics announced.

Friendly greetings were sent to the Euphoristen Orden of Germany and to the British University Socialist Federation, which had cabled its hail to the I. S. S. Convention.

The Question Box Session, scheduled for Tuesday afternoon, in the Rand School was a most stimulating portion of the Convention. Jessie W. Hughan, Robert W. Bruere and Wm. English Walling answered questions relating to industrial unionism, syndicalism, class-consciousness, the abolition of the wage system, compulsory arbitration, the liquor problem, the abolition of the Senate, compensation under Socialism and the relation of the colleges to the working class.

The principal session was the dinner at the Murray Hill Lyceum. Suffrage and Socialism was here ably discussed from various standpoints by Mrs. Harriet Stanton Blatch, Morris Hillquit, Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois and George Lansbury, formerly member of the British Parliament. Mrs. Blatch told of the progress of woman's suffrage in America; Hillquit described the influence exerted by the Socialist movement on manhood suffrage in Europe; Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois presented the problem of negro suffrage; George Lansbury, touched on militancy and urged collegians to enter the labor movement not from the desire to lead it, but in order to be of service as comrades in the ranks. Max Eastman presided.

The final session, held Wednesday morning, was devoted to the discussion of Alumni Chapter problems. The discussion here centered

around the application of the Fabian Society of Boston to the I. S. S. The Convention finally moved that the matter be referred for further consideration to the Executive Committee.

"Alumni Chapter Study Meetings" were discussed by Mrs. G. Chamberlain of Springfield who told of the necessity for such meetings, and of the obstacles against which they had to contend. Jessie W. Hughan of the New York Chapter described the successful study meetings of that organization and emphasized the need of dealing with the modern developments of Socialism, and of preparing a study program months in advance. Mrs. Clara G. Stillman spoke of the necessity for convinced Socialists, to help in building up the Socialist press. She urged collegians to contribute articles to the press because of the development which the contributor would receive, as well as on account of the good he could do.

That the success of their meetings in Springfield was due, to a large extent, to the fact that their organization used the city press to its uttermost, was the belief of Edwin A. Field, president of the Springfield Alumni Chapter. Mrs. Wolfe told of the problems of the Los Angeles Alumni Chapter and the formation of other organizations for the purpose of taking up certain immediate demands. The work of the Lecture Committee was described in an interesting manner by Mary Allan Stuart. Wm. E. Bohn of the Teachers' Committee of the New York Chapter declared that, in his opinion, professional men and women could do their best work for Socialism by faithfully performing their duties in their respective professions. He urged that teachers and others should become imbued with the modern spirit in educational and in other fields. The possible functions of the Legal, Research and Library Committees were also dwelt upon.

Grover G. Mills of the Boston Alumni Chapter and the Fabian Club, described the activities of these organizations and stated that in his opinion an alumni group, organized for the purpose of putting practical legislation into operation, and for Socialist educational propaganda, would be able in Boston to perform a more vital function than would a mere study group. Considerable discussion followed regarding the relative merits of study and propagandistic alumni groups.

The following delegates were present: Barnard—Edna Astruck, 1915, Grace Greenbaum, 1915, Margaret Pellitzer, Fanny Schwartzman; C. C. N. Y.—Henry Hankin, A. Schneer, I. Caesar, visitor, Emanuel Grabson, visitor, A. Horowitz, visitor; Columbia—S. S. Bobbe, 1913, Rufus W. Trimble, 1913, S. Sholes 1913; Cooper Union—P. W. Etkes; Cornell—M. A. Leavitt; Harvard—Alfred Jaretzki, 1913; American International—Ernestine Hard, Florence Zuckerman; N. Y. Dentists' Chapter—A. J. Balter, Herman Mendelson, David Tanster; New York University—Geo. L. Cohen, 1915; Princeton—O. V. De Porte; Radcliffe—Anne Page, 1914, Katherine A. Hodge, 1916; International Y. M. C. A. College—A. E. Holmes, S. W. Line; Williams—Walter M. Hinkle, 1914, L. A. Kohn; Yale—G. L. Gutwildig, Mr. Bloch, Max Levine, Law 1916, G. H. Mika, 1915, Alexander Trachtenberg, P. G.

Boston Alumni—Louise A. Grout, Prof. Ellen Hayes, Grover G. Mills; Los Angeles—Esther Packard, Stella Packard, Mr. and Mrs. Wolfe; Philadelphia Alumni—R. M. Blitzstein, Alice Cheyney, Dorothy Colby, Mrs. H. K. Norris; New York Alumni—Margaret G. Batchelder, Jessie W. Hughan, Harry W. Laidler; Pittsburgh Alumni—Mr. and Mrs. Lancaster; Springfield Alumni—Mr. and Mrs. Edwin A. Field, Mrs. George D. Chamberlain; Staten Island Alumni—Marie Baer, Elise Paulin; St. Louis Alumni—Roger N. Baldwin.

Fraternal Delegates—Edwin T. Cohen and John C. Long, Amherst; Ida Rothstein, Brooklyn Training School; A. R. Morgan, General Theological Seminary; Frances Gunner, Howard University; Mr. Jaffe, Long Island Medical; Max Greenberg, Missouri, visitor; Z. Sagal, N. Y. Medical; Miss Pinsky, N. Y. Normal College; Florence Franklin, Smith 1914; Gertrude Wolf, Wellesley; May Wood Daley, Wellesley; Prof. Percy M. Dawson, Wisconsin; Olin Ingraham, Wisconsin.

IN THE COLLEGES

NEW ENGLAND STATES

The YALE University Chapter of the I. S. S. is continuing its splendid series of lectures. George Lansbury, former member of the British Parliament, and Mrs. Florence Kelley recently addressed large audiences. Mr. Lansbury dealt with English conditions, and Mrs. Kelley spoke on "Child Labor." Dr. Anna Shaw has been secured to lecture on "Woman Suffrage" and Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois on "The Negro Problem" in the early Spring meetings. In explaining the great size of the proposed Yale skating rink, the *Yale Record* recently declared that it would be so large that it would be able to accommodate all who wished to attend the meetings of the Yale Society for the Study of Socialism. This Society has a permanent place in the life of the college.

At HARVARD John Spargo addressed 250 students on "The Real Meaning of Socialism" on December 9th and Wm. English Walling, on "Progressivism and After," December 1st. George Lansbury spoke before the Harvard group in January. The club has an approximate membership of 60. Its library, consisting of about 125 volumes, has been placed in the

Harvard Union Library in order to make it more available to non-members.

The RADCLIFFE Chapter of the I. S. S., with a membership of 41, reports meetings addressed by Prof. Ellen Hayes and others. Mrs. Florence Kelley is scheduled to speak before the WILLIAMS Chapter in February. At the study meetings of this organization, Walter M. Hinkle gave a talk on "The Economic Interpretation of History," and Lawrence Kohn, on "The Theory of the Class Struggle." There are ten members in this group. At WESLEYAN, Charles M. E. Gard, secretary of the Conn. Society of Social Hygiene; Charles F. Dole, author, and Mrs. Rose Pastor Stokes were the three speakers before the Social Study Club. J. H. Amy was recently elected president. Considerable Socialistic discussion is now taking place in CLARK, as a result of the organization of the Clark Congress, as well as of the I. S. S. Chapter. Sixty members in the mock Congress are divided into four leading political parties. The Socialist membership of 12 has combined with the Progressives, forming the majority. The speakership has been conceded to the Progressives and the chairmanship of the Committees to the Socialists. As a result, the Socialists have an opportunity to bring before the club such bills as "Government Ownership of Railroads," "Equal Suffrage," "Old Age Pensions," "Abolition of the Senate," etc. The Congress meets once a week. The I. S. S. Chapter at the college has a membership of 25. Professors Motley and Bristol discussed "Socialism Pro and Con" at the BROWN University Chapter in December. Prof. Damon, Fred. Hurst and Dr. Reid have also promised to speak. "It is very surprising," writes one of the members, "to note the interest that is being shown in the study of Socialism both among the faculty and the students."

Sara Henry Stiles, Ph.D., addressed the SIMMONS Chapter on "Why It Is That Socialism Interests Me" in October.

The following speakers have addressed the INTERNATIONAL Y. M. C. A. College Chapter: H. M. Burr, "The Educational Value of the Study of Socialism"; J. C. Robinson, "Objections to Socialism Met"; E. J. Roberts, "Surplus Value"; Rose Pastor Stokes, "Socialism," and Mrs. Geo. H. Chamberlain, "Woman Suffrage." "The New Slavery" was the subject of an address of Mrs. Stokes before the Chapter of the AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL COLLEGE in November, and "Some Phases of Socialism," the title of Prof. Bowden's address in December.

Communications regarding organization have been received from Miss Genevieve Russell of MT. HOLYOKE College, and it is hoped that within a short time a strong Chapter may be formed in this institution.

MIDDLE ATLANTIC STATES

Mrs. Eugene Boissevain addressed an intensely interested group of 300 students at PRINCETON in December on "Suffrage and Socialism." John Temple Graves Jr. writes that an active season may be expected in the Spring. Henry Hanken of C. C. N. Y. reports a remarkable Socialistic sentiment in that college, both among the students and instructors. Mr. Gluck of NEW YORK UNIVERSITY promises to do active work as secretary of that Chapter during the Spring. The CORNELL Socialist Study Club hopes to have Mrs. Florence Kelley, an alumna, during the early Spring. The BARNARD Chapter of the I. S. S. heard Walter Lippmann in an address on "Socialism To-day" in November, and Harry W. Laidler, on "Labor Problems." While the NEW YORK DENTISTS' Chapter has held no lectures this Fall, it has continued the publication of its magazine. The COOPER UNION group is planning a series of lectures by some prominent speakers during the Spring. Dr. S. Frucht und Jessie W. Hughan addressed the Chapter last Fall.

William Frankman of the NEW YORK HOMEOPATHIC AND FLOWER HOSPITAL College hopes to establish a Chapter soon in that institution.

MIDDLE WEST

THE WESTERN RESERVE Chapter has been formed largely through the efforts of Miss Donna Alice Cope. This Chapter hopes to have Mrs. Kelley address it in February. "The fact that DENISON has a Chapter of the I. S. S. has caused no little comment among the interested persons connected with this institution," writes the secretary. "Members of the faculties have expressed approval, and indications point to a fruitful effort for the greatest Cause of the day."

A most interesting and informative series of lectures has been arranged by the University of ILLINOIS Chapter. The speakers and subjects are as follows: "Citizenship and Democracy," G. W. Rice; "New Freedom," Prof. W. F. Food; "Socialism," Prof. S. Litman; "The New Individualism," Charles G. McArthur; "The Philosophy of Social Betterment," Dr. Arthur J. Todd. W. W. Denton is the president of the club and Mr. Loomis the secretary.

"The University professors are taking an interest in our club and several of them have promised us lectures on different phases of Socialism," writes May Frank, secretary of the UNIVERSITY OF INDIANA Chapter. W. C. Jenkins spoke on "Bernard Shaw" in December and John C. Kennedy, on "Progressivism vs. Socialism," in November.

The Chapters at MIAMI University, OHIO STATE, OHIO NORTHERN, HIRAM, VALPARAISO, and WISCONSIN report progress. Arrange-

ments are being made for a lecture by John Spargo at OHIO STATE. The students at OHIO NORTHERN are using Walter Thomas Mills' "Struggle for Existence" as a text book.

E. E. Boilan of the University of OKLAHOMA is endeavoring to reorganize a group at that University; E. A. Rich, DETROIT COLLEGE OF LAW, believes that an organization may be effected there this Spring, as does J. A. Rogers, Jr., of JOHN MARSHALL LAW School in Chicago. E. S. McFadden is hopeful of a group at SOUTH DAKOTA AGRICULTURAL College, and Alfred Huettner, at the University of SOUTH DAKOTA. Agitation is also going on for an organization at the STATE NORMAL SCHOOL OF OKLAHOMA and at the University of OKLAHOMA.

PACIFIC COAST

A vigorous organization has just been effected in OREGON AGRICULTURAL College. Mr. Hugh S. Sant is its energetic secretary. S. C. Mattson, University of CALIFORNIA Chapter, has recently been chosen secretary and is arranging a Spring program. John C. Packard promises good activity in SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA LAW School, and is trying to coordinate the activities of the students interested in this subject in the various Law Schools in Los Angeles and vicinity. Arthur E. L. Nelson, formerly secretary of the University of WASHINGTON Group, has been temporarily compelled to leave college, but hopes to assist in the Chapter work within the near future. An application for a Chapter is promised from FRESNO JUNIOR College by Robert Haberman. Numbers of instructors and students are interested in the work.

SOUTH

Individual students and instructors are at work at the University of NORTH CAROLINA, GEORGE WASHINGTON, MARYVILLE and the University of RICHMOND.

ALUMNI CHAPTERS

The most inspiring reading of his play, "The Terrible Meek," and of selections from the Bible was given by Charles Rann Kennedy, author of "The Servant in the House," assisted by Mrs. Kennedy (Edith Wynne Matthison), under the auspices of the NEW YORK Alumni Chapter in Berkeley Theatre, December 18th. A meeting in Berkeley Theatre is also being planned for February 22nd, at which John Spargo will speak on "Some Fallacies of Syndicalism." The study meetings have been most popular and informative this season. In the December meetings, Juliet S. Poyntz dealt with "Feminism and Socialism" and Professor James H. Robinson with "Education and Socialism." "Art and Socialism" was discussed by James Mowbray-Clarke, and "Science and Socialism," by Professor James T. Shotwell, in the meetings of January. On February 5th the meeting will be given over to "Co-operation and Socialism." Rufus W. Trimble will act as chairman and Dr. R. T. Brodsky and Albert Sonnichsen, as speakers. A later meeting will be devoted to "Marxism vs. Socialism." Felix Grendon has been chosen chairman of the Research Committee. Irwin Tucker, vice-president of the Chapter, has resigned from that position as he is going to Chicago to become managing editor of the *Christian Socialist.*

The SPRINGFIELD ALUMNI Chapter has been holding some excellent public gatherings in that city. "Christianity and Socialism" was discussed by Rev. Irwin Tucker in January. The speakers during the Fall were William English Walling, Rose Pastor Stokes and Harry W. Laidler.

J. Stitt Wilson was the principal speaker at a recent dinner of the CHICAGO ALUMNI Chapter I. S. S. It is hoped that this Chapter might be able to arrange a Sectional Convention in the Middle West in the Spring. The Chapters in the Middle West are urged to co-operate. Mila Tupper Maynard has just been chosen president of the LOS ANGELES Alumni Chapter. This organization has been active lately in holding meetings for students in the various colleges in and around Los Angeles. The STATEN ISLAND Chapter heard Mary R. Sanford and Helen Phelps Stokes in January, Irving Ottenberg in December and John Haynes Holmes in October. Frances Ney of BUFFALO is endeavoring to organize an Alumni Chapter, that city.

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